

291 as frequently as the others. In the two bands which favor the
[554] high moccasin, the possession of a pair of this type is a point of
[184] prestige: "The moccasin is worn high when you are able to have
[384] this kind. All people of influence had them this way." The seam
line at the foot, especially on "dress" moccasins, is often painted
red, the upturned portion of the toe may be variously painted,
too, and sometimes the folded portion of the upper or the entire
moccasin is colored with yellow ocher.

[411] When the man is out hunting, raiding, or fighting, he wears a
belt of buckskin or rawhide to which a knife sheath is attached,
but in times of peace he seldom takes the trouble to don this
when he is around camp.

302 After the spring ceremony the hair is allowed to grow. "We
all wear long hair. A person doesn't dare cut his hair off with a
[777] knife. He has to take good care of his hair. To cut it brings bad
[765] luck. The only time you do that is when a member of your fam-
ily has died." A man leaves his hair unbraided. He pushes it to
the sides, out of his eyes and over his shoulders, and it is held in
place by a band which crosses his forehead.

[824] Yucca root, pounded, is used for shampooing the hair. "After
[237] washing the hair, they use fat on it to make it stick together.
Also marrow from the shinbone of a deer is used for this pur-
pose."

The faces of the men are smooth; all facial hair is plucked with
the fingernails as soon as it is noticed, because "the Chiricahua
[777] don't like whiskers." There are exceptions, of course. "There is
[787] one man who has let his beard grow for good luck. He told me
that when he was young he had a dream that he would have good
luck if he let his beard grow. He is over sixty years old now and
still has a moustache."

302 At times of dance and celebration a mixture of grease and red
535 ocher is rubbed on the cheeks, and there are other face paints.
"Paint is used for decoration when there is any gathering or
dance. It can be put on at any time. Sometimes a person puts
[824] circles on each cheek; sometimes some other markings. A few
put a streak of sticky mescal juice on each side of the face."

000 In addition to decorative face-painting, there is a great deal of

1: Opler E-5 (1931-1937) 1941

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Chiricahua

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told some of the boys that he was going to give another ceremony for a patient on another night, this time for ghost sickness, and that they might attend if they would promise not to scratch themselves.

As a result of such experiences the child learns to anticipate the curative function of ceremonies, the claims of shamans, their pattern of prayers, songs, and manipulation of sacred objects. He becomes sensible of the close rapport between the shaman and the power source, of the mingled flattery, pleading, and threats which mark the attempts to force the supernatural world to respond to the needs of man. He becomes aware of the sources of disease—snakes, bears, coyotes, ghosts, witches; of the implicit homeopathic feeling that snake sickness, for instance, requires the services of a snake shaman. He gets some hint, also, of the multiple ceremonies which such a shaman as Geronimo possesses, and he learns of the restrictions associated with ritual.

The beliefs and ceremonial usages associated with the related concepts of death, the ghost, and the owl are very early transmitted to the child by older relatives. "When I was little I never gave any thought to death. But once I got very sick. My mother thought I was going to die. She told me that I could not come back if I died. This was my first scare. Since then I have been afraid of death."

Often a child's awareness of death begins at the demise of some relative. Then his name may be changed because the dead person had spoken it so frequently that its use would recall the deceased to mind. Or his hair may be cut and his appearance thus altered. At the time of a close relative's burial, a child's clothing is discarded and replaced, for nothing must be left as it was before death. Efforts are now intensified to protect the child from supernatural harm; ashes are strewn upon him and around his bed to discourage the approach of ghosts, and he is thoroughly incensed with smoke from burning sage, called "ghost medicine."

Whether or not the child is curious about the meanings of death practices, they must be explained to him, for it is socially dangerous to permit individuals, however young, to remain in ignorance of them:

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FOLK BELIEFS AND MEDICAL PRACTICE 293

Then he mixed weeds and white paint and put it over his body. He came back, and Bear said that he didn't smell him any more.

Then Bear told him to take a good rest. "Meanwhile I'll go over and hunt up your people."

He stayed at Bear's home four days. Four days later Bear got home again. He lay down. "I'm very tired," he said. "I found your people far away. Tomorrow we'll start out, and I'll take you to them."

The next morning the man started out with the father bear. They walked all day. About evening they came close to a mountain.

"Where do you want to stay?" Bear asked.

"In a hollow place," the man said.

"No," the bear told him. "It's better on top. It's warmer up there."

They went to the top and stayed there overnight. In the morning they started again. The next day toward sundown they went on top again. The next morning they started and walked all day. At night they went on top again. They carried dried beef with cooked fat and berries in it. The fourth morning they arose before sunup.

"Maybe we will find your people before noon," Bear said. "Then I'll go home."

About noon they found many Indian camps. Bear said, "There are your people. I'm going home now. After this if you or your children get lost, don't be afraid of Bear. Go to Bear's home." Then Bear went home, and the man went into his camp.

He found his wife and children cutting their hair off. In the old days they sometimes cut the hair short and sometimes cut it all off for mourning. They had killed all his horses and thrown away all the things he owned.

That bear had given him a ceremony with songs and prayers when he was in that cave. Then, when he got back to his people, he helped them when they got sick. When he healed sick people, he took a circular piece of rawhide, covered it with buckskin, and painted Bear, Lightning, and Buffalo on it. That was because Bear had told him that Lightning and Buffalo were his friends and their powers all worked together. He would make this for people and put a buckskin cord on it and later give it to them to wear.

Coyote, dog, wolf.—Details of a typical coyote ceremony have already been given²⁸ and need not be repeated here.

While sickness can be contracted from a dog, at least by a child, a coyote or wolf ceremony is thought sufficient to remove it. A certain amount of ceremonialism has grown up around dogs, but these usages are for the benefit of the dogs and not to cure ailments they have brought.

²⁸ See pp. 40-41.

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FOLK BELIEFS AND MEDICAL PRACTICE 303

happen. Of the Chiricahua, R. is the only one now that knows the enemy-ghost ceremony."

Since the more usual type of ghost sickness results from persecution by the shade of a departed acquaintance or relative, the period immediately following a death is a trying one, and a preventive rite may be performed:

The Chiricahua, if someone dies, may call in a shaman to perform a ceremony. The day after the dead person is put away, this shaman will go through a ceremony for them. The members of the family of the dead person look ragged. They have put on their oldest clothes and cut their hair. The men and women of the family have taken a little hair off, but from the children they have taken all the hair off. They have burned up the clothes they wore before the death. They move camp in any direction and go anywhere. Perhaps other people sympathize with them and give them something. Then the shaman comes over and sings for these people. This is to keep the ghost away. He goes through the ceremony he knows. Some shamans paint the faces of the mourners red; some use white paint. Each shaman has his own way.

Most ghost ceremonies, however, are conducted to cure ghost sickness that has already been contracted. An owl shaman has supplied an interpretation of his own ceremony and an explanation of how he obtained it.

I cannot tell how my great-grandmother got this ceremony, but my grandmother got it from her. My grandmother cured many. She could only cure those who were sick from the owl or whom witches had made sick through the owl. Owl sickness just affects a person from the heart to the head. The Mexicans killed my grandmother a long time ago. I got the ceremony from a strong memory. I kept in mind what she did.

After my grandmother died, an owl nearly killed a little child. Other people knew that my grandmother had known about Owl. They guessed that I might have the power too. So a certain woman came to me for help and asked me to try this ceremony. I went to her home with her. I cured that child the same night. I found that the power of my grandmother wanted to work through me too.

Now I can pray and I am able to get sick people well. My power can be used only at night though. When I hold my ceremony, if it doesn't work after two nights, I give up, for something else is wrong. . . . Or perhaps a witch prevents the cure. Some witches have great power, sometimes more than I have. I can only try to help a person for two nights. Then I have to give them up. The person has to go to a more powerful shaman then, for some are more powerful than I am. I cure through song, prayer, and strong belief with the ceremony of the owl.

If an owl has scared a person into unconsciousness, someone comes for me,

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said of him, "That man never gets into trouble; he has a good wife." During my work with this man, his wife showed a lively interest and often assisted with useful suggestions and details. Not long afterward the man died, and she was truly a grief-stricken figure. 593

Another informant, despite the pose of male indifference, paid his wife a deserved compliment. Speaking of another woman with whom he had once been friendly, he said, "That woman was very pretty when I was a young man. I nearly married her, but I did right to marry my wife. She is a good little woman and has a good reputation."

At another time, when I inquired about a sound of wailing I heard, thinking that someone must have been newly bereaved, I was told, "No, that woman cries every once in a while like that for her husband who died many years ago. She has never married again." [152] [765].

One informant, irritated by insinuations that marriages among his people were not stable or satisfactory before American interference, exclaimed: "Some people think that, because the Chiricahua didn't have a license in the old days, their marriages were no good. But a man couldn't leave a woman for nothing. The Chiricahua had strict and high standards." 593 581 197

But no matter how satisfactory a marriage arrangement is, husbands and wives, as far as external symbols are concerned, are expected to take each other for granted and to demand no small attentions or extra considerations. 593

A man does not kiss his wife or relatives. We don't show emotion like that. Young people dance together before marriage and now some kiss before marriage, but not after. [152] [832]

The Chiricahua woman does not resent it when her husband goes off without saying goodbye or saying when he will be back, and there is no special greeting for a wife even if the man has been away several days. Yet these married people think just as much of one another as white people do. It's just their way of acting.

SEXUAL ADJUSTMENT

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In speaking of the sexual adjustment in marital life, informants have emphasized the role of individual differences:

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A man is "bound" to his wife's sister when his wife dies. The woman has the right in the matter. She approaches the man or not as she wishes. If the wife has a sister and a cousin, and the sister does not like him but the cousin does and asks him to marry her, he is obliged to marry her as if she were the sister, and the family considers it in the same light. If no one asks him within a reasonable period of time, the man can marry anyone he wishes.

It's just the reverse if a man dies and leaves a widow. Then one of the dead husband's brothers or cousins can ask her to marry him, and she cannot refuse.

The sororate.—As soon as a man's wife dies he becomes "bound" to his affinal relatives. Together they go into formal mourning. The attitude toward a well-liked and grief-stricken son-in-law is kindly. "After the death of his wife, a good man, in the old days, would not care for anything. He would not even care about making a living. But his wife's relatives would help him. They would see that he got the necessities." But should the widower be too light-hearted or show interest in any woman of another family, it is counted a grave affront to the departed and a serious breach of the respect owed her relatives. Those to whom the bereaved is "bound" are said to be "jealous," that is, watchful of his conduct.

As it functions, the sororate is a device for bridging quickly, with least disadvantage to the children of the deceased and to the extended family, the gap caused by the death of a married woman:

When S.'s sister, my wife, died, he called me [by the term meaning] "bound to" his family. I couldn't have called him this. It meant that I was not free from him, that if he had any more sisters he could make me marry one. But that was all the sisters he had. Now that I'm married again, he can't call me that.

If a man's wife dies, he will marry a woman to whom he is "bound." If his wife dies, a man is "bound" to her sister, and if she has no sister, to her unmarried cousins. If the dead woman has two unmarried sisters, he might be asked to marry either. The word *ica* means "belonging to."⁸ In this case, where his wife has died, the man is "bound." He is not exactly forced to marry the woman to whom he "belongs," but her family wouldn't like it if he refused. They couldn't do much about it though. He would just violate that rule.

If a man is "bound" to a woman, it's up to her to act and show what she intends to do. He must not speak to her first about it, for he belongs to her, and it's her right. After a while she would come to him if she felt like it and say,

⁸ While this informant's suggestion is good, it seems to me that "bound" or "bound to" is a closer approximation to the meaning of the term.

AN APACHE LIFE-WAY

587 "Now you are 'bound to me.' If you are willing, we will get married." She
602 would come to him personally. Then there would be no presents, no wait, no feast; they just begin living together.

But if she lets several years pass without asking him, it would be a sign that she does not want to marry him. In this case, he knows that they are willing to let him go, to let him marry outside that family.

The man usually goes and asks permission of his dead wife's family if he wants to marry out of it. Even if his dead wife's people have no more girls and he wants to marry again, he will have to let her parents know what he wants to do as a matter of courtesy.

The family of the dead woman cannot force the man to marry anyone other than a relative of his former mate, however:

If the dead wife has no sister, the man may be forced by his in-laws to marry whom they say, and he won't object as long as it is a relative of his wife. But if they have no relatives for him to marry and they suggest another girl, he isn't bound to obey.*

If there are two sisters of the dead wife left and they both want him, he takes the one he pleases. He practically always takes the older though. But it's the woman who has the say; if she objects to the man, he doesn't marry her, of course.

The degree of control which the family of the deceased exercises is further explained in another statement:

[586] If the widower has nobody to stand up for his rights, his in-laws can make it tough for him and see that he can't marry anybody else if he won't marry his sister-in-law. He might marry her, however, and if they don't get along, they can divorce—and that is the man's chance to get free.

[768] When a man's wife dies, the children usually go to a female relative of the wife to be cared for. Later, if the man marries again out of the family, he can get his children back. But if he marries out of the family, he can't get married again until a year or two after his wife has died. It depends on how soon her relatives will let him marry again. If you marry out of that family, you have to wait a long time. If a man loved his wife, he wouldn't want to remarry for a long time anyway. Only a bad one, a low-down cuss who was not brought up right, would remarry soon.

587 The long mourning and waiting period which must elapse be-
602 fore a man may marry someone who is not a relative of his first
765 wife is again emphasized in another comment:

[597] * But a sister by adoption may be considered a blood relative for these purposes: "If a girl adopted into a family has a 'sister,' at her death her husband would be 'bound' to this sister."

MARITAL AND SEXUAL LIFE

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If a man whose dead wife has no eligible sisters or cousins marries outside the family too soon, his former wife's family resent it and call him down for it. This is thought to be very disrespectful to the dead and is considered very serious. He can't do anything like this before a year of mourning has passed. Often it is two years before he can get permission.

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Soon after his wife's death a widower was approached concerning matrimony by an alien woman. In his own words:

I changed the subject as quickly as I could. It was only a short time after my wife's death, and I knew that I couldn't marry then, for my dead wife's family would take it as an insult. . . . Then I told her, "Maybe I could think about such a thing later on. But here my wife has been dead only a little while, and her relatives would get mad at me if I married now, and then no good would come of it."

This same point is brought out in a criticism of a book purporting to be a life-history of Geronimo:

I know that there are lots of things in that book that Geronimo wouldn't like. For instance, he [the author] says that Geronimo married again a few months after the death of his first wife. Geronimo did not marry a sister or relative of his first wife; therefore, he could not have remarried that soon. The Chiricahua simply do not do that. I know that Geronimo didn't marry until long after the death of his first wife. The only way an Apache can marry again pretty quickly is if he marries one he is "bound to." But if he marries an outsider right after his wife's death, they sure criticize him!

Look at R. His wife died. He then married his wife's sister. He married about four or five months after his wife's death. No one thought anything against it. But if he had married that soon outside the family, they would have thought it was awful. After his first wife died he stayed camped near his mother-in-law. The mother-in-law and his present wife took care of the children after their mother died. Now the family goes right on. That's what this way of doing things is for.

The last part of this quotation introduces a significant point—the shortening of the mourning period to facilitate the remarriage of a man to a member of his deceased wife's family:

The dead woman's sisters talk over who should take the children, if there are any. If one is unmarried and wants the man, she marries him and takes the children. If a woman dies and leaves a widower, the dead woman's sister is supposed to ask the man to marry her. They marry in less than a month sometimes, though they might wait as long as a year. But some people don't wait long after the death of a brother or sister. This is all right if they marry the mate of the dead person.

1: Opler E-5 (1931-1937) 1941
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THE ROUND OF LIFE

THE economic, ceremonial, and social practices which 512
have been described provide a framework within which
members of the tribe move. But the full reality is some-
thing more. The individual pauses to enjoy the result of his ef-
forts, seeks to earn the good opinion of his neighbors, pays visits
to his friends, and attempts to find satisfaction and laughter.
His days are filled with many minor adjustments to other human
beings. And all these responses are guided by a body of under-
standings and etiquette.

CAMP LIFE AND ETIQUETTE

Every encampment of any size, especially when there is any 625
suspicion of danger, has a guard at night. The lookout "is not
especially chosen. It is just anyone who feels like it and is willing
to do it. There is no organization about it." When information 202
concerning the enemy's movements demands that near-by
groups of tribesmen be notified, "fast runners are sent" with the
message. If the distance is great, the messenger rides a horse, [492]
because "horses are hardier and don't get hungry or thirsty [825]
soon."

When the people move from a camp site, certain precautions 484
must be taken:

The fire pit is covered up neatly, and the brush beds are gathered up and put
in a neat pile. They say that, if you leave the camp just as it was in use and
simply pick up your blankets and go, the coyote, the crow, and other harmful [825]
animals and birds may come and urinate or defecate on the place. Then, because
everything is arranged just as it was when it was occupied, the person it belongs
to will be affected wherever he is.

A different reason for the care taken in breaking camp was
offered by another informant:

When moving camp, the mattresses of grass, leaves, and branches are brought [765]
together and put all in one pile. The beds are not left as they were when they [513]

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[765] were in use, for, if some member of the family should die and the bed is not taken
[513] apart in this manner, it would be at the last camp site as it was when it was used
by this dead person and would remind others of the user. This causes sorrow to
friends and relatives.

821 There are a number of methods for reckoning time, so that
805 movements and meetings may be planned and ceremonies performed according to a schedule:

During the day, time is judged by the shadows caused by the sun. It is noon when the shadow drops just under you. Some people place a stick upright in the ground and watch the movement of the shadow to figure out the time of day. Another way is to note how many fingers the sun is above the horizon. On cloudy days you have to guess at the position of the sun.

We notice the shortening of the days as winter gets near. As soon as the days begin to lengthen, we say, "It [the sun] has begun to move back upward."

During the night we tell time by the position of the moon and the morning star. In wintertime the morning star gets as high as halfway between the horizon and the zenith. When it is in this position, it is nearly morning.

The Big Dipper is used in telling time at night. "As its stars 'spin around' it is possible to tell the passage of the night by whether the cup is turned or not." "The Dipper turns around and faces down; this takes all night." Another group of stars consulted for the time of night is the Pleiades. "You can see it early in the evening in winter in the east. When it is high, morning is near."

821 Stars that appear at certain seasons are noted. "There is a star that is right straight up in the summer. We call it 'rock bed' after the rocks at the bottom of the mescal pit."

264 Members of the household usually eat two meals together, although sometimes individuals eat during the day as they get hungry and gather for an evening meal only:

[178] We never followed the three-meals-a-day idea at home or away. Even in the morning there wasn't a regular meal unless there was meat that had to be boiled and eaten warm. Then we would eat together for convenience. Otherwise there was no system. Three meals a day is recent. At home, in everyday life, the women eat with the men, but at social dances and feasts they do not.

[412] Each person helps himself from a common container, using his
[824] fingers for solid foods and a yucca-blade spoon for liquids. Though "it is considered impolite to make a noise while eating,"

DEATH, MOURNING, AND THE UNDERWORLD

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[195] THE topic of death is sedulously avoided. The regular
term for death is seldom used; the approved euphem-
ism "he is gone" is employed instead.¹ When an in-
formant was asked whether his people had any death songs, his
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533 emphatic reply was:

There are no death songs for the Chiricahua. Our war songs urge the men to
go forward all the time. Death wouldn't be mentioned. If a Chiricahua man
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[195] heard a word about death in there during a war dance, he would stop dancing.
He would go to a man with a ceremony for war and have him sing his songs and
find out what it meant. Some men would back right out as soon as they heard
anything like that. They'd be afraid that the fight would turn against them if
that bad word was said in there.

764 But, when death does strike, a formal pattern of thought and
procedure exists to make possible the requisite material and
psychological adjustments.

The data already presented concerning the owl, the ghost, and
ghost sickness² have paved the way for a summary of the charac-
teristics of the burial practices:

When a person dies, his close relatives pull their good clothes off. They tie
any old thing around themselves to keep themselves covered and warm. It is
[765] sometimes a month before they dress in good clothes again. Members of the
family cut their hair; the women wail; the men cry.

[202] A few minutes after death (whether a man or a woman has died) a close male
relative may go out of doors and shoot off a good many cartridges in the air. He
doesn't shoot in any special direction. Any male relative can do it. I don't know
exactly why it is done; no one seems to be sure. But I think that this has to do
with the importance of the person who has died. It tells the rest of the people
that someone of standing has died. N. was a leader. When his mother died, he

[762] ¹ In spite of the great terror surrounding death, suicides occasionally occur
when life becomes unbearable. Individuals have committed suicide when cap-
tured by the enemy, when stunned with grief at the loss of a child or some other
close relative, or as a result of marital strife.

² See pp. 14-15, 229-37, 301-5.

1: Opler E-5 (1931-1937) 1941

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brought is buried with the corpse. What they don't bury with him is burned or destroyed back home. All that a person had is destroyed. They say that whatever is thrown away with a dead person that belongs to him he carries to the underworld. They want him to have the use of these things in the other world. They don't want him to get there poor. They want to show that they do not hold property above their relative. And they don't want anything that the dead person had used a great deal to be around. It would only remind people of the one who died and bring them sorrow. Also they fear that the ghost of the person who owned the article will come back to molest the one who keeps it.

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For the same reasons they kill the horse that has carried the dead person's possessions. It is stabbed in the throat or shot, at or near the grave. If a man has several horses sometimes they kill them all; sometimes only his favorite horse or horses, the ones he actually used all the time. It is because a person used a thing continually and it is associated with him and reminds you of him that you don't want to keep it. People don't want to see his horse. Because he used to ride it so much, to have it around reminds them of the former owner. Besides they kill the horses so they will go with the dead person. The saddles are burned.

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They don't have to kill all the horses of the family though. All the horses of a family are not thought of as belonging to one person, even to the man who is the head of that family. If a family has five or six horses, one is considered the property of a child, another of the wife, and so on. A man might not be considered to possess more than one or two horses of his own. These are his favorites and the ones he always used, and they are killed at his death. They cut the tails and manes of horses if any are kept at the death of a man.

• [765]

Everything is buried or destroyed. If a woman's baskets or pots are not buried with her, they put holes through them. Nothing is left whole, for they don't want them used again, even by mistake. Usually for a man the only things that are buried with him are his clothes and weapons. Other things are burned.

The things he used in his ceremony are not kept either. Those things are destroyed. Sometimes they put them in the grave with the dead person. Some hang them on a tree. There was one woman who died at Fort Sill. She had a cross that she used in her ceremonial work. They put it in her grave with her. Then at night something like lightning would come out of the grave.

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When the person died of old age, branches of fruit-bearing trees are used to cover the grave. When an old Indian dies, they bring branches of all trees that bear fruit. They put the limbs on top of the grave. They say, "Next season I hope there will be many of these trees." Young people call the dead out by name and say, "I hope that I will also grow old." When a person dies in youth, his name is not called this way. When they bury a person, they brush off their own bodies with green grass and then put it on him in the form of a cross. Then they won't dream of him.

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* This material was obtained from a Southern Chiricahua informant. A member of the Eastern Chiricahua band claimed to know nothing about the particular procedure.

DEATH, MOURNING, AND THE UNDERWORLD 475

The burial doesn't take very long, and they come away as soon as they can. They keep away from that place; it is not revisited. Just witches are seen fooling around graves.

It is the intention of the members of the burial party and of the close relatives of the deceased to alter so completely the situation with which their dead kinsman was associated that nothing will remind them of him, and nothing they have or do will draw his ghost to them. They destroy not only all his property and all the objects which he handled or used to any extent but also gifts which have come from him. The members of the burial party and any others who have come into contact with the corpse bathe carefully and burn or "roll up and hide in the woods" the clothes they have worn during their unpleasant task. Most often, too, "the others change their clothes. They don't want to wear what they had on when the person was living and when they were going around with him." Other precautions are taken:

Often after a death the person who has had contact with the body purifies himself by taking "ghost medicine," throwing it on a fire, making smoke from it, and sitting before the smoke with a robe. If the smoke is plentiful, no robe is needed. He then sits or stands where the smoke can get all over him—any way so the smoke goes all over. The hair is always washed after contact with the dead, and the clothes worn are burned or thrown away. Sometimes all the close relatives use the "ghost medicine."

In addition, there must be a further change in the appearance of the bereaved—the cutting of the hair:

The hair of men, women, and children is cut when a close relative dies. The hair is cut once, to about ear length, and then it is allowed to grow out again. It is done for a parent, a brother or a sister, or a husband or a wife. For a man, the wife and mother are sure to cut their hair. Some sisters do, some do not. It is seldom that cousins do it, and the relatives of a dead person's husband or wife do not do it at all. Some adults only cut the ends of the hair.

Camp life must be reconstructed in a new locality and on a different basis. "Following a death we move camp. The relatives don't want to live in the same place. It doesn't matter whether the person died in the home or not. It is destroyed anyway. Usually it is burned. And they do not go back around that old camp site much either."

Because the name is so intimate a facet of the personality, one

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476 Because AN APACHE LIFE-WAY

551 the name is so intimate a facet of the personality, one
765 of the most rigid injunctions forbids the mention of the name of
the recently deceased. If the dead person must be mentioned,
a qualifying phrase provides a safeguard:

[152] There should be no mention of a dead person. To mention the name of the
dead reminds relatives of him and makes them feel bad; it only causes sorrow.
Besides it might prove dangerous. To call the name of a dead person at any time
is bad, and especially after dark.

[195] We are instructed, in case it is necessary to use the name of the dead, to put a
word after the name which means "who used to be called." Another way is to
say "the one who used to be a relative of So-and-So." The avoidance of the
name is not observed only before the relatives of the dead person. It is a general
observance.

When an elder of the family, who has been in close contact
with the children, dies, their names are changed:

The children of the family get different names then. The person who has died
has called the children by this name that is being dropped; that is why they don't
want it used any more. The older people don't have their names changed be-
cause of this, however.

If the relative who suggested one's name dies, that name is
sure to be changed: "Little' was my first name. Later a
name was given to me by my grandmother. When she died, it
was changed."

When a person who is named after something of common ref-
erence dies, the people are reluctant to use the term for a long
time after the death. "They are especially careful around the
relatives." Circumlocutions and synonyms are employed until
the danger period is past. Even the use of relationship terms is
restricted because their utterance might stimulate painful mem-
ories or ghost anxieties:

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[152] If you have two relatives that you call by the same relationship term and one
of them dies, you don't call the other by this term for a while. You call him by
his name until the dead person is forgotten. Then you can use the relationship
term to him again.

765 Those outside the relationship group in which a death has
578 occurred must exercise the greatest care not to arouse the resent-
822 ment of the bereaved:

What the relatives do not like if a person dies is to see in the next few days
anyone wearing a red dress, a red shirt, a red headband, or red clothes of any
kind. It hurts the feelings of those who have lost their relative to see this. If a

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death occurs near by, others take off their red clothes at once. It is because red is colorful and stands for a good time. If your relative dies and you see someone wearing red, you say, "Well, that fellow wore red when I was sad. When his relative dies, I'm going to wear red just for meanness." Fights and bad feelings can start from this; enemies can be made in this way.

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And yet, in spite of all the determined efforts to obliterate the memory of the dead, a prolonged period of formal mourning is sanctioned:

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For some time after the death of his wife a man will not dress in fine clothes or colors. And he won't go to social dances. He won't even be invited, because the people know he isn't thinking of such things. A woman will not attend the social dancing at a puberty rite, though it is held several months after her husband's death. She will wait about a year before she will go to such affairs.

Moreover, regardless of all warnings concerning the danger of excessive grief, some individuals find it impossible to repress their sorrow:

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A woman may wail for a dead relative before sunrise for years after he dies if some special calamity has come which she thinks wouldn't have come if the relative were alive. Or she may wail when she sees a special friend of her dead son, or one who is of the same age and looks like him.

While the relatives are observing the necessary rites; the ghost of the departed makes its way or is led by other ghostly kin to the underworld, "a beautiful place beneath the ground, where a nice stream of water flows between banks that are lined with cottonwood trees, and everything is green." This home of the departed has been variously termed by informants "where the cottonwoods stand in a line," "ground that is streaked with red," "underground," "where they go off," and "where they go down." The last two names refer to the manner of reaching this subterranean paradise:

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Our concept is down, a place beneath. When I was a child, many years ago, the Chiricahua never talked about where other Indians go at death. They just talked about where their own people, the Chiricahua, go. We think of a dead person going on to another life—of his whole body, as it was on earth, going to the other world. He is really transferred to that other world.

When a person is very sick and is unconscious, it is said that he is somewhere else, that his ghost has gone where the dead people are, to visit his friends. If he regains consciousness, it is because his ghost gets back again, and when he gets well he may tell where he was. Every once in a while someone has an experience like this. That is how we know where the place is and what it looks like.

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